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### NEGROES WITH GUNS

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### THE POTENTIALS OF A MINORITY REVOLUTION

(By Robert Williams)

When the brutally oppressed Afroamerican speaks of violent resistance to savage racial dehumanization, he reaps a whirlwind of reasons and causes why such a reaction supposedly is insane and suicidal. There is no end to the stereotyped polemics and heated opposition that beclouds a rational and objective discourse on the subject. From the camps of the rabid white supremacy power structure, the fellow traveling white liberal and the mercenary running dog Uncle Tom, any individual who raises such a question is labeled a bloodthirsty crackpot, not worthy of social acceptance in America's "democratic and Christian" society. Proponents of the peaceful transition philosophy are quick to evoke the Gandhian theory of appealing to the conscience of the brutal oppressor and conquering him with the power of nonviolence and love.

These Gandhian Fabians inadvertently extol the success of Gandhi's peaceful revolution. Gandhi's nonviolent revolution may have guaranteed the ruling powers immunity from the violence of the masses, but it most certainly left the masses exposed to the violence of the oppressors. It served to assure that only the blood of the oppressed would flow.

The disciples of the Gandhian theory of peaceful transition elect to omit the latter stage of the continuous revolution. Revolution is a continuing process. It is essential, in appraising the success of the Indian Revolution, to consider the fact that Nehru, a disciple of Gandhi, dispensed of the love principle in extending Liberation to Goa, Damao, and Diu. He refused to settle the Pakistan and the Chinese border question peacefully as exemplified by the philosophy of nonviolence and love. Despite the Gandhian "power of love" theory's evolution to a "force of arms" theory, Afroamericans are still being drugged with the opium of the power of love and nonviolence.

The forces with a vested interest in the equilibrium of the U.S. master-slave society and their agents of deceit are more than willing to point out to our miserably exploited and dehumanized masses that violent resistance and self-defense will mean total annihilation and extermination. This is in itself an unwitting admission of the beastly nature of the oppressor. If such an oppressor is conceded to be capable of such an act of genocide and history bears out his determination to maintain the status quo, where is the wisdom of the logic that he will tolerate the loss of his slave empire through peaceful means? The very essence of revolution is radical change. Revolution is necessitated by abusive and reactionary power. This abusive and oppressive power perpetuates itself through the medium of violence. In the outset the oppressive force commands the superior power, if it did not, violent revolution would not be necessary. If the oppressed controlled the means of power, a peaceful transition could possibly be executed by virtue of the will of the oppressed.

It is possible for a minority revolution to succeed in powerful America? The cynics, prophets of doom, and agents of the oppressive establishment maintain that to even raise such a question is insane. They energetically, with a clairvoyant air, assure us that violent self-defense or violent resistance to brutal racial oppression can lead only to suicide. How do they know? What is the basis of their logic? Are they any wiser than those cynics who brazenly stated that "man will never fly," that "it is impossible to cross the oceans," that "man can

never reach the speed of a mile a minute and survive," and that "the American Revolution can never succeed against the military might of the Crown?" How do they know that violent resistance on the part of our people will lead to suicide? Yes, they have been conditioned to accept America's racist tyranny as a condition bound to prevail until the tyrant himself elects to abandon the throne of tyranny. They are more than resigned to the premise that white supremacy might is the God of the fate and destiny of oppressed black humanity.

Yes, a minority revolution has as much, or more, chance of succeeding in the racist USA as any place else in the world. At the very outset, all revolutions are minority revolutions. In the early stages cynics think that all revolutions have a very remote chance of succeeding. Revolutionaries display a propensity to accomplish the impossible. Is the Afroamerican revolution to be an exception? Do we subscribe to the premises of white supremacy? Is it because the oppressor is white and the oppressed is black that most of the world accepts the premise that our struggle must be white-led and supported by the majority race or that it is insignificant and doomed to failure?

The fact of the matter is that the Afroamerican wants and has been seeking brotherhood with the white masses since his enslavement in the New World. A people as brutally oppressed as American Negroes cannot wait forever for the support of mythological and theoretical allies. Most white workers in the USA today have a vested interest in the status quo. The present system grants them special privileges in a jungle society. The cow of production may be lean and diseased but the Negro is the only herdsman limited to the outlets of feet and tail. The vast majority of the white have also been mentally poisoned with racism. It is asinine to expect them to recover from their race psychosis without a severe shock treatment.

The American society is a highly industrialized complex. A highly industrialized and mechanized system is also a very sensitive one. The more machinery required to serve a community the greater the incidence of mechanical breakdown. The more dependent a community is on mechanization, the more important it is for the wheels of industry to perpetually turn smoothly. Social systems, like biological systems, tend to adjust to environmental conditions and requirements. The American society, over a long period of time, has adjusted itself to a high rate of productivity directly bearing of the relativity of consumption.

It is a universally known fact that the power structure of the racist USA is rabidly opposed to self-defense on the part of our people. They have a morbid fear of violent self-preservation on the part of U.S. freedom fighters. Is this because they love the dehumanized Negro? Is this because they are concerned with the welfare and well-being of our brutalized people? Is this because the American society is a pacifist society with an aversion for violence? No! A thousand times No! If the power structure had ever manifested any true concern for the welfare of our people (for whom it now professes great fear that we may commit suicide by fighting for the right to live as human beings) there would be no question of violent liberation struggle. The question of peaceful persuasion, as a moral issue, is belied by its imperialist military actions against Cuba, South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and other liberated areas. Why is such a belligerently imperialist government not concerned about black Americans, and whites as well, being exterminated in a nuclear war? Was it not Kennedy, as the very head of the U.S. Government and white so-called liberal society, who said, "... We will live up to our commitments even if victory turns to ashes in our mouths?" Where were the panic preachers then, who express such great concern and alarm for the possibility of black Americans being exterminated in violently resisting racial oppression? Is not a black American just as dead when killed in an international war of conquest as in a national struggle for liberation?

Why are the liberals, Uncle Toms and the power structure so hysterical about the possibility of massive violence erupting on the national human rights scene?

The fact is that the racist oppressors of the Afroamerican realize the insecurity and vulnerability of the most powerful military complex in the world to a violent internal struggle, wherein its horrible and sophisticated weapons of war will be ineffective. The internal defense of the U.S. is a possibility that money cannot buy. Only a change in the moral and social structure of the system offers security against an enraged oppressed citizenry. The USA is either unwilling or morally incapable of bearing the cost of this type of internal security. The race question is her Achilles heel, her Maginot line.

The power structure, the liberals and Uncle Toms are in essence asking Afro-america to cooperate with are the very forces that are opposing them. How can

oppressed people who seek liberation, afford to allow the enemy to dictate the method of struggle? How can a people, who are dead serious about their freedom, allow themselves to be duped into limiting themselves to the most ineffective method of struggle? It is not logical to accommodate the will of the oppressor, who has a vested interest in maintaining the status quo, and to wage a successful liberation struggle simultaneously.

The fact is that racist white America is not worried about the possibility of Negroes being exterminated. It is more worried about the loss of its privileged position in its racist caste society, its system of white supremacy and world domination. It is ironical that we note inherent inequality in the very method and tactics proposed to abolish the evil inequities of racism. The white barbaric racist is deduced a "white only" special privilege in the realm of all violence, both justified and unjustified. The execution of human prerogatives is again straddled with a limitation placed on brutally oppressed people whose miserable existence is the very personification of limited human endeavor. A democratic or equitarian society is devoid of minority or majority distinctions based on race or class. An integrated society of racial equality in the United States is impossible if specific limitations are placed on black citizens, while excluding white ones. True equality must not only extend to the Afroamerican the right to full participation in virtuous endeavors but also the full right to the equal extent of the white nationalist class in some not so virtuous endeavors. Equality, total equality, must grant the black citizen the same right to be a devil or a god as the whites. It must grant him the same right of temper and the same right of self-defense as any other citizen. To limit the Afroamerican struggle to the narrow confines of non-violence, while the white oppressor class wages a violent struggle to maintain the status quo, is to invoke the principle of Jim Crow and its racial inequality. The power of nonviolence and love is a farce. Socrates was nonviolent and he, too, stressed love. He died at the hands of violent men. Christ was nonviolent and he, too, stressed love and nonviolence, he too, died a violent death. History is replete with examples of nonviolent men, as well as violent ones, who died from the power of violence either justified or unjustified. We have the case of millions of nonviolent Jews, who found meekness to be greatly inadequate in the face of ruthless and intemperate Nazi violence. The force of Nazism was not crushed by nonviolence and love but a fighting spirit, backed up by force and violence. The Christians who were cast into the ancient lion pits were not saved by the power of nonviolence and love. Where is the example of the success of this power, of this nonviolence and love? The mystic principle of the power of nonviolence and love borders on the primitive poisonous snake-handling rituals of some religious cults.

The most noble of mankind must surely aspire for a human level of endeavor, wherein mankind can establish a utopian society divested of brute force and violence. The irony of this great dream is that if it is at all possible, it is possible only through the medium of violence. It is possible only through Revolution.

Many of the nonviolent preachers in North America tend to fuse Gandhism and Christianity. Their hybrid type of pacifism leans heavily on Christian teachings and on the bible, which threatens that the entire earth is to be destroyed by violent fire. Its watchword is the coming of Armageddon. Not a nonviolent battle but the most ferociously violent one ever staged. These advocates of the Christian power of nonviolence and love omit that part of the Old Testament which describes the evil subversion attempted by the devil when peaceful coexistence was generated in Heaven to a state of open conflict wherein the Christian's God, the highest ideal of peace and love, ordered the devil forcibly ejected from the heavenly society. In removing the devil and his evil from menacing the peace of the ideal community, it is significant to note that God did not see fit to relegate such an important task to the realm of nonviolence. Why is the mortal Afroamerican expected to be more peaceful and loving toward his enemy than his divine God?

From the very earliest event of the African's chained arrival in the New World, he has been subjected to every form of brute force, systematic demoralization and dehumanization conceivable. The insensate slave masters left no stone unturned in conditioning oppressed blacks to meekly accept their miserable lot. The black man's fate was presented as being inseparable from the will of the white man. He was deliberately conditioned to base the prospects of his fortune on the Christian charity or conscience of the good white folks. Our people have never been allowed to forget that all significant power is in the hands of and under the control of the all-powerful and God chosen white man.

The lip agents, both black and white of the white man's supremacy doctrine have been rapid and more than lavish in proclaiming the "white folks" as possessors of all the cannons, the bombs, the machine guns and the complete military establishment. This has been true and it is essentially true today, however times have changed. These changes do not bear good tidings for the perennial and brutal oppressor dehumanizer and exploiter of our people.

"Our people's freedom spirit has been ossified by the continuous harangue of "we cannot possibly win a violent struggle of liberation". It is impossible for a people to rise above their aspirations. If we think we cannot win, we most certainly cannot. Our greatest enemy is our defeatist attitude. Our oppressor's greatest weapon of repression is his psychological apparatus by which he impregnates our people with a defeatist complex. Are we to concede the fact that racial oppression and tyranny prevail invincible and unshakable? Are we to concede to the unchallenged almighty power of our dehumanizer, that he is the supreme benefactor of our freedom? Are we destined to forever kneel beggling at his feet seeking the alms of liberty and justice?

The sweetest fruits of liberty are plucked by those who readily display boldness and daring. The cringing and the reluctant constitute the hindmost part of a civilization in constant transition. The defeatist voice of cynicism is the inevitable scum that litters the shore before all daring world-shaking exploits of embarkation. What would civilization resemble if all revolutionaries, inventors, adventurers and scientist had heeded the inevitable voices of the doubting Thomases, who perennially admonish that every novel and daring exploit is predestined to fail? Ironically, the survival of the cynic and the conservative is assured by the dogged iconoclast.

The physical conditioning of a society also manifests certain relative psychological traits. The American mind has been conditioned to think of great calamities, wars and revolutionary upheavals as taking place on distant soil. Because of the vast upper and middle classes is the USA, that have grown accustomed to comfortable living, the nation is not psychologically prepared for massive violence and a sudden disruption of the essential agencies of the affluent society. The soft society is highly susceptible to panic.

Afroamericans have long sought a peaceful solution to the race question. It is more than obvious that a people, who have manifested and unshakable faith in the vain hope that the government would eventually grant citizenship and justice, prefers a peaceful solution. Our people have dreamed and prayed for a peaceful transition from slavery to first class citizenship and human dignity. Peaceful evolution, through the mediums of legislation, law and negotiation are the methods that have been pursued for almost 200 years under the present government. The results are bitter and frustrating indeed. The orderly social process has been stymied by savage violence and brute force.

Instead of the majority race extending brotherhood and justice, it has resorted to a campaign of a massive drive aimed at extermination. The fascist elements are arming, not to liberate our brutally oppressed people but to liquidate us. It is becoming next to impossible for Negroes to conduct a "peaceful" demonstration in America. A Civil Rights Bill will have no more effect than the U.S. Constitution. What is integration when the law says yes, but the police and howling mobs say no? Our only logical and successful answer is to meet organized and massive violence with massive and organized violence. Our people must prepare to wage an urban guerrilla war of self-defense. Self-defense develops to the stage wherein the source of evil and terror must be eliminated.

In Monroe, North Carolina (the first instance wherein highly organized self-defense units supplemented nonviolent tactics and reduced the incidence of resulting terror) our force of defense was adequate in staving off local attacks. We had enough force and arms to reduce the entire city to ashes. The fault, however, lay in the fact that we had an isolated force without extensive outside forces to pin down, ambush and destroy the state reinforcements moving in to overpower us. Our self-defense forces had to remain purely static and defensive. The Monroe explosion came prematurely because of our shift in emphasis from self-defense to publicly overemphasizing nonviolence. The racists seized this time of weakness and confusion to launch an attack to annihilate our forces. A six year effective self-defense campaign terminated in ill-fated untimely experiment with nonviolence. The organization of external forces was just being conceived. A decision was made to spare the city thus avoiding an all-out confrontation prematurely. The town would have been destroyed but our defense forces would have been crushed by external power, and the state and white

supremacists would have used the example to intimidate other advocates of self-defense. The racist news media would have portrayed the entire operation as one conducted by psychotic extremists.

The lesson of Monroe teaches that effective self-defense, on the part of our brutally oppressed and terrorized people, requires massive organization with central coordination. External oppressive forces must not be allowed to relieve the besieged vast terrorized. The forces of the state must be kept under pressure in many places simultaneously. The white supremacy masses must be forced to retreat to their homes in order to give security to their individual families.

The weapons of defense employed by Afroamerican freedom fighters must consist of a poor man's arsenal. Gasoline fire bombs (Molotov cocktails), lye or acid bombs (made by injecting lye or acid in the metal end of light bulbs) can be used extensively. During the night hours such weapons, thrown from roof tops, will make the streets impossible for racist cops to patrol. Hand grenades, bazookas, light mortars, rocket launchers, machine guns and ammunition can be bought clandestinely from servicemen, anxious to make a fast dollar. Freedom fighters in military camps can be contacted to give instructions on usage.

Extensive sabotage is possible. Gas tanks on public vehicles can be choked up with sand. Sugar is also highly effective in gasoline lines. Long nails driven through boards and tacks with large heads are effective to slow the movement of traffic on congested roads at night. This can cause havoc on turnpikes. De-railing of trains causes panic. Explosive booby traps on police telephone boxes can be employed. High powered sniper rifles are readily available. Armor piercing bullets will penetrate oil storage tanks from a distance. Phosphorus matches (kitchen matches) placed in air conditioning systems will cause delayed explosions which will destroy expensive buildings. Flame throwers can be manufactured at home. Combat experienced ex-service men can easily solve that problem.

Techniques mentioned here are generalized and require a closer study, however, let the cynics take note that the mighty USA is not as snug and secure as it once was. Yes, a minority war of self-defense can succeed. The Afroamerican can win. We need not submit, passively to racist extermination and brutality. The race question is America's Achilles heel. America's great abundance is what makes America America, without it she would be a wretched land of chaos. Her economy is already under stress and her military might is spread out too thinly throughout the world.

The bourgeoisie has very little stomach for massive blood and violence. They love their property, the source of their power and wealth. They are highly susceptible to panic. The majority white supremacists do not command the loyalty of the entire race. There are a few John Brown type students and militants.

Afroamericans must remember that such a campaign of massive self-defense should not be based upon a lust for sadistical gratification. It cannot be a campaign for vengeance, however, sweet and deserving vengeance may be. Such a campaign of self-defense and survival must be based on the righteous cause of justice. It must not be anti-white but anti-oppression and injustice. Uncle Toms should be as much a target as racist whites.

Like it or not we cannot escape the trend of history. The hour is fast approaching when our people must make a decision to meekly submit to fascist forces of terror and extermination or surge forth to the battle to liberate ourselves, save America and liquidate its domestic enemies. If we truly seek freedom and human dignity we must be willing to pay for it in the fashion of the Algerians. Great magnitudes of our people must be willing to fight and die in America's true cause and commitment to her Constitution, democratic principles and the rights of man, and for a victory that will not . . . "turn to ashes in our mouth," but to eternal freedom and happiness in our hearts. Such a victory truly make the world safe for democracy. It would secure the world from extermination by hydrogen war. Not only is America's peace security involved but also the peace and security of the whole world.

The horrible nightmare of massive violence need not fall upon the American scene. It can be slaved off by the birth of a sincere spirit of humanity, dedicated to the proposition of brotherhood, peace and security.

When a brutally oppressed and dehumanized people are denied the peaceful channels through which to activate redress, and when their peaceful petitions are answered with ruthless violence, the only recourse left to them is to meet violence with violence.

We do not advocate the violent overthrow of the U.S. Government. We merely advocate self-defense for brutalized Afroamericans. If in the process of executing

our Constitutional and God-given right of self-defense, the racist U.S. Government, which refuses to protect our people, is destroyed, the end result stems from certain historical factors of social relativity.

“. . . This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government they can exercise their Constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it. If by the mere force of numbers a majority should deprive a minority of any clearly written Constitutional right, it might, in any moral point of view, justify revolution. . . .” Abraham Lincoln, 1861.

The oppressor's heart is hard. The experience of history teaches that he only relents under violent pressure and force. There is very little hope that he will see the handwriting on the wall before it is too late. 1964 was a violent one. The storm will reach hurricane proportions in 1965 and the eye of the hurricane will hover over America by 1966. America is a house on fire—FREEDOM NOW— or let it burn, let it burn. Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition !!!

#### PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE

One of the most potent of weapons in the arsenal of modern warfare is being overlooked in our struggle for human rights. Billions of dollars are being spent throughout the world in the battle for the minds of men. Psychological warfare cannot be viewed with indifference by any force or group concerned with the struggle for its survival. Psychological warfare should supplement field or other operations and sometimes the situation should be vice versa.

The courage and skill manifested by Afroamericans in street demonstrations are not being properly matched in the psychological realm of the struggle. So-called U.S. democracy is a product that the U.S. is trying to peddle to a world wherein a vast majority of the population is colored. America's projected plan of world domination requires it to seduce many of the dark people's of the world by means of hypocrisy and deceit. U.S. racism is indefensible. Even a great portion of the reactionary forces of the world are reluctant to run the risk of being branded as tolerant towards U.S. racism.

It goes without saying that a picket line is most successful when it effectively reduces the sale of an essential product of the adversary. The USA is making a desperate effort to sell so-called Christian democracy to the Multiracial world. One of the greatest potential barriers to U.S. success in this field is her complete moral bankruptcy in race relations. The U.S. State Department is well aware of the sensitivity involved in this problem. This explains the disproportionate denial of human rights for the black masses in cases where patronage is strictly moral and without propaganda benefits.

Afroamerican Freedom Fighters must coordinate street action with psychological warfare. We must be able, willing and ready to strike the oppressor in his Achilles heel. The fact of the matter is that once the true nature of U.S. imperialism and racism is known, the decent peoples of the world will lose all respect for the savage Yankee. Yes, the truth shall help to make us free. Job discrimination, discrimination in housing, police brutality, court frame-up, racist violence, and brutality must be brought to the attention of the entire world. It would be shocking to most of our people to really know how little foreigners truly know about the nature of our oppressor and the barbaric conditions under which our people live in the affluent society of the so-called free world. Much of this lack of information can be directly attributed to failure on our part.

As an oppressed people, we have actually cooperated with our oppressor by allowing him to deceive our people into believing that the U.S. race problem is no more than a lover's quarrel. We have allowed Uncle Toms to help U.S. racists to convince the peoples abroad that Negroes fare quite well in racist America. The brutal oppression of The Afroamerican is no more a part of a lover's quarrel than is the bloody heathenish racist affair of South Africa. The Negro is never going to fare well in racist America until he forcefully brings about social changes.

The Afroamerican should have no compunction about unleashing psychological warfare against the racist USA. A government as derelict in protecting the human rights of its citizens as that of the USA forfeits its very right to exist, let alone enjoy the loyalty of those it oppresses. The racist oppressive government of the USA is doing everything within its power to prevent the true story of the horrible plight of the masses of our people from reaching the outside world. This

supporter of South Africa and Portugal is even resorting to robbing the mails in a desperate effort to maintain a deceptive false image abroad. U.S. Information centers are being stocked with black prestige magazines like EBONY, while militant publications are being pilfered and sabotaged by U.S. agents throughout the world.

Too many of our people are afraid of being branded as being disloyal. Too many Negro leaders are more concerned with convincing the white folk's government how much it can count on them and their dog loyalty than of dignifying the land and bringing justice to all the people. The words "disloyal" and "subversive" engender too much fear in a land that enjoys the heritage of patriots, who were disloyal enough to denounce the Crown of oppressive and imperialist England. The U.S. Government is an oppressive government. It is a racist government and until such time that it guarantees human rights to black Americans as well as whites, it is not worthy of the loyalty of its black captives and decent white dissenters.

The peoples of the world are very much in sympathy with our oppressed and dehumanized people, when the true nature of our plight is brought to their attention. Therefore, it is a duty of all who labor for Afroamerican liberation to also strive to inform the peoples of the world of the plight of the Afroamerican. It is also necessary to form foreign relations committees in all civil rights groups that truly represent the best interests of the people. These committees must compile lists of foreign news media and sympathetic groups and unleash a barrage of releases dealing with the real plight of our people and the true nature of the oppressor, who has proclaimed himself savior of the world. Yes, we must expand our arsenal.

We must become proficient in the art of psychological warfare, the Achilles heel of the big bad racist oppressor. Yes, we must fight back violently and psychologically. We must defend ourselves. Self-defense means self-preservation and survival. Let the whole world know that we take our liberation seriously and that we, like our black brothers of South Africa, are not engaged in a petty lover's quarrel with the racist savages of America but in a life and death struggle.

The brutal North American oppressor of our people is incapable of rendering justice to non-white people. He is incapable of rejecting violence as a means of maintaining his rotten and decadent system of ruthless exploitation and idiotic white supremacy. Almost 400 years of history proves him, even to be, incapable of accepting Afroamericans as human beings. My brothers and sisters, the only force capable of inducing change in the heart of such a savage is the only force that he respects and responds to. It is the force of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. We must defend ourselves. We must fight back. We must defend our homes and our women and children.

Nonviolence as a tactic is to be readily approved. It is time for every freedom loving and civilized person in the racist USA to enter the struggle to civilize and liberate the so-called free world. It is time for all of our people to take to the streets in defense of human rights and dignity. Worthy social change, means drastic change. Drastic change means revolution. Revolution means violence and upheaval. The Afroamerican cannot have his cake and eat it too. The Afroamerican cannot have freedom and human dignity and peaceful co-existence with the racist slavemaster simultaneously. The Afroamerican cannot have a peaceful revolution of liberation from such a beastly oppressor. Peace at the expense of liberty is not peace but the prostitution of compromise.

We cannot overstress the fact that the racist forces of the extreme right are arming to conduct a campaign of extermination against our people. Savage white supremacists are preparing a spring and summer offensive that they call "Operation Blackjack". Operation Blackjack signifies massive violence and a ruthless campaign of terror against our people designed to intimidate the timid, and to force a total retreat on the civil rights front. This racist conspiracy of Cyprus-type warfare is predicted on the belief that our people will not fight back, that we will not defend ourselves and that turn-the-other-cheekism on the part of our defenseless people, will offer the Ku Klux Klan and the Minutemen immunity from retaliation.

The racist thug advocates of white supremacy have a mortal fear of a policy of self-defense on the part of our submissive people. This is because of the fact that the United States' position in the world is so sensitive and precarious today that any long drawn massive rioting across the nation would strike a death knell for the farce called the democratic way of life. Contrary to what Uncle Toms and racist buffoons would have our people believe, it is not the Negro who would be

exterminated in such a conflict, but the so-called American way of life and those racist imperialists who conspire to conquer, dominate and spread Birmingham-type justice around the world. All the civilized peoples of the world are in sympathy with our struggle to civilize the master race savages and their social jungle called representative democracy of the Christian USA.

The Afro-American in the USA is facing his greatest crisis since chattel slavery. All forms of violence and underhanded methods of extermination are being stepped up against our people. Contrary to what the "big daddies" and their "good nigras" would have us believe about all of the phony progress they claim the race is making, the true status of the Afro-American is steadily on the down turn.

Those mercenary Afro-Americans who pander their self respect and prostitute the human dignity of the race for crumbs from their white master's tables are helping to forge the nails for their own caskets. Have they not learned anything from the lesson of the history of the Jews in Nazi Germany? All the world knows how many Jews sold out their race hoping to gain insulation for themselves. It is common knowledge that the only privilege they won was the right to go to the gas chamber last. Now they are just as dead as the ones who went first.

Already the colored people of the U.S. are plagued with mass arrests, attacks by vicious Nazi trained police dogs, and victims of gun and club happy racists policemen. Already our people are victims of mass unemployment, official conspiracies of starvation and Ku Klux Klan terror backed by the U.S. Justice Department. Already the racist, facists are laying the ground-work for a mass exodus. Our people must not forget how the Nazis loaded the Jews on death trains under the pretense of sending workers to other locations when they were really destined for the extermination chambers. It goes without saying that the Afro-American is not wanted in the USA any more. Machinery and poor white workers are fast replacing him.

The F.B.I., the Minutemen and the KKK are of the same ilk. There is no class immunity for Afro-Americans. When mass terror breaks loose, all people of color are targets. Turn the other cheekism is no survival tactic for a jungle filled with wild beasts and savages presided over by an impotent witch doctor, Slick John Kennedy, whose magic potions only work in far away places.

#### THE DISEASE OF BIGOTS

The racists of the USA suffer from mass psychoneurosis. Their minds have become so twisted out of normal proportions that they have become mental cases. They possess warped personalities that have forced them out of the realm of natural readjustment. The racist bigots of the USA are monomaniacs when race is involved. Many are perfectly normal in every subject but the one encompassing human rights for colored people. A brilliant college professor or scientist who is a bigot may possess an open mind and high intellectual integrity in every field but that of race relations. In this realm he may react as a blind fanatic whose sensibilities are as insensate as the most rabid racist of the backwoods country. His insensate nature makes him immune to logic and fact that serve as a stimulus to normal people with open minds. When individuals' personalities become divorced from reality and insensible to the stimulus of a normal environment, the best antidote is a shock that registers and revives the sensible capabilities to the state of reality.

The Afro-American has been subjected to racism and persecution for almost 400 years in the new world. Common sense dictates that white oppressors who have been unable to develop a humane attitude and a just state of human intercourse indicative of a civilized society in four centuries are incapable of doing so voluntarily merely from the standpoint of social readjustment.

It must also be realized that an oppressed people who have meekly submitted to the every whim of such a deranged personality cannot possibly have completely escaped unscarred. Too many Afro-Americans have for too long, even though unwillingly, played an accommodating pretender's game in a vain effort to pacify the hopeless lunatics.

In this past when this all powerful lunatic, with his homicidal tendencies, insisted that he was God almighty, for the sake of survival it may have been necessary to go along with him. This is no longer the case. He is no longer the supreme power in the world. Afro-Americans must stop playing the accommodating lunatic's game. We must shock him back to reality. Afro-Americans must stop pretending to go along with insane racism.



No sane person is willing to wear a badge of inferiority. No sane person is satisfied to live under a caste system of brutal Jim crow. Human life is too short and precious to spend under terrifying conditions as a subhuman.

We must let the entire world know that we are not satisfied with racism in the USA. We must let the racist brute himself know that we are no longer going to play his idiots' game. We must also serve notice on the world that we are willing to help place him in a straight jacket until he is completely cured of his insensate, sadistic and homicidal tendencies.

With the US struggling to dominate the world, the Afro-American is looked upon as a raging bull in a China closet. The racist dictators of fascist and racist America are horrified at the thought that the enraged black bull may set out on a kicking spree at a moment detrimental to the US move toward world domination.

The afro-American is in more danger inside the USA at this very moment than at any time in the history of the USA, including slavery time. The slave, because of his value as a machine of labor was considered as asset to the racist USA. Automation and the great surplus of ofay workers, who are more than willing to replace their black brothers as the mules of drudgery in a fascist society, have nullified the value of the Afroamerican as far as the racist society is concerned. It must be understood that this savage concept of the white supremacists is based upon the uncivilized belief that black people are not human and that they have no rightful place of citizenship in the so-called "free world."

It is generally felt in racist circles today in the USA that the black man is the white man's burden. Because of social evolution, the Afroamerican is fast becoming a displaced person in his own native land. The insensate ofays feel that the Afro is a white elephant. He can neither eat him, employ him nor love him. He is considered only good as black window dressing in baiting a trap to spring in the captivity of the colored peoples of the world and their vast resources. The black man is also considered good cannon fodder in US campaigns of conquest.

In the "free world" of Dixie USA, the income differential between Afro-american and white families exemplifies the plight of Afros in the ofay world of representative democracy. Dixie ofay family income for 1959 was a median figure of \$4,903 as compared to \$1,929 averaged by the families of our race. Although our people constitute 10.5 per cent of the total population of the so-called American way of life, they receive something less than 5 per cent of the nation's income. As of 1960, one out of six nonwhite dwelling units was dilapidated, compared with one out of thirty-two white dwellings.

Twenty-nine per cent of the nonwhite dwellings were deteriorating, compared with 12 percent for white dwellings; non-whites are less likely to own their own homes and when they do the chances are one out of three that the home is substandard; two fifths of the nonwhite dwellings lacked some or all plumbing, compared with only one-tenth of the white-occupied units. These are national figures. The problem in the South is even more serious: One out of four non-white dwellings (rentals) are dilapidated as compared with one out of ten for white dwelling units. Not only is nonwhite housing of an inferior quality; the nonwhite dweller must pay more for his housing.

As an example of the nationwide trend, in the Greater Metropolitan Area of Chicago 5.2 per cent of the total labor force is unemployed but 15.6 per cent of the Afroamericans in the labor force is unemployed. Unemployment among Afro-american has not dropped below 10 per cent for the past 10 years. Ofay liberals and phony friends of the Afroamericans have proudly boasted of the great strides being made by the amusing "good nigras" and they are quick to point to the mythological increase in income. The fact of the matter is that the cost of living is higher than it has ever been before. The crucial issue is that the income of the American Negro family showed no progress in relation to the income of the white family in the past two decades.

The USA is fast becoming a fascist police state and the Afroamerican is the major scape-goat. The Kennedy administration is well aware of the plight of the Afroamerican. It is a party to the conspiracy against him.

#### STOCK MARKET: A BAROMETER FOR VIOLENCE

In the USA the Afro-American is always the last to be hired and the first to be fired. With the stock market acting up the way it is Afro-Americans are in for some hard days ahead. Also when great numbers of racists are unemployed a scapegoat is always needed. We don't have to stretch our imagination to

imagine who scapegoat number one is. History also shows that more violence is visited upon Afro-Americans during times of economic hardship. When racists start to suffer they find the need for vent for their pent up frustrations. The cunning rable rousers direct this vicious frustration toward the poor miserable Afro-American.

The Afro-American would do well to remember this. He should also remember the fact that the rulers of the USA are inclined to use war as a means of propping up a sagging economy. Those "good nigras" who insist on clinging to their white masters despite his evil designs at home and abroad had better remember that the gates are broad and open wide that lead to Hell.

Those who persist in dog loyalty to their white masters and insist on following him to war against just and democratic peoples most certainly shall have the honor of being atomized at his feet. Racism and imperialism's days are numbered, the best thing Afros can do is not to support such evil causes. The Afro-American's destiny is tied to that of his Latin American, African and Asian brothers who are going to help bring a new order of social justice to the world. If the Afro-American is to take up arms it had better be in defense of his women, children and human dignity.

Our oppressors are beasts. They are devoid of human conscience. But even the beast of the jungle respects force and violence. Our dignity demands that we defend ourselves. Our self preservation requires us to FIGHT BACK. Yes, a dark and foreboding shadow hovers over our people like a ghastly raven. Violence and terror sweep the land like a firestorm. We have no recourse but to raise our battle cry. Let every street become a battle field and every first strike a blow. Let every stone become a weapon and every black man, woman and child become a soldier and patriot in our cause of liberty. My brothers and sisters, it is now or never. We must overcome at any price. No, we are not afraid, for it is better to die than to survive as a subhuman. It is better to live just 30 seconds in full and beautiful dignity of manhood than to live a thousand years crawling and dragging our chains at the feet of our brutal oppressors. In the spirit of Lexington and Concord, Let our battle cry be heard around the world, Freedom! Freedom! Freedom now or death!!!

TIME TO UNITE

Nationalists who advocate separation should find cause to support the gallant efforts of our people in the South for Human rights. Integration or no integration, U.S. racism is being exposed and many of our people are being educated. Present defeats will pave the way for a powerful, united Black Nationalist Movement and self determination.

EXHIBIT No. 40<sup>1</sup>

LOS ANGELES, CALIF., *January 6, 1969.*

BROTHER IMARI,  
*Republic of New Africa,*  
*Detroit, Mich.*

DEAR SIR: Let it be known that from this day forward January 6, 1969, that I Shurli Grant due solemnly swear allegiance to the Republic of New Africa, it's constitution, it's Flag, it's concept.

Sincerely,

SHURLI GRANT.

EXHIBIT No. 67<sup>2</sup>

INTERVIEW WITH HERMAN FERGUSON AND ARTHUR HARRIS OF THE REPUBLIC OF  
NEW AFRICA

(Editor's note: the struggle for black liberation and self-determination in this country incorporates a number of different forms of thought and action. One tendency within the struggle to which white people have generally failed to give due consideration and attention is the demand for full self-determination—separation. The Republic of New Africa is the leading organization currently articulating this position. The following interview with two of the leading spokesmen for the Brooklyn Consulate of the Republic of New Africa gives an expression of some of the basic thinking behind the demand for separation.)

<sup>1</sup> See p. 82 for discussion of this document.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 86 for discussion of this document.